

Message Text

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PAGE 01 MAPUTO 01114 01 OF 02 121700Z
ACTION AF-04

INFO OCT-01 SS-14 ISO-00 SSO-00 /019 W
-----062325 121738Z /53-R

O 121215Z SEP 77
FM AMEMBASSY MAPUTO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6233
INFO AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY GABORONE IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LAGOS IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA IMMEDIATE
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 MAPUTO 1114

LIMDIS

AF FOR DICK MOOSE

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: RH
SUBJECT: RHODESIAN PROPOSAL

REF: STATE 212757 (NOTAL)

1. GENERAL OUTLOOK. PRESIDENT MACHEL APPEARS TO BE WILLING TO GO ALONG WITH OUR RHODESIAN PROPOSAL, AT LEAST THROUGH THE NEXT STEP OF SECURITY SECURITY COUNCIL SUPPORT FOR THE DESIGNATION OF A UN REPRESENTATIVE AND THE COMMENCEMENT OF TALKS ON TRANSITION AND POST-INDEPENDENCE MILITARY ARRANGEMENTS. HE HAS BEEN PLEASED WITH WHAT HE PERCEIVES TO BE A TOUGHENING OF THE UK AND US POSITIONS OVER THE PAST SIX MONTHS. HE HAS RESERVATIONS ABOUT CERTAIN ASPECTS OF THE PROPOSAL, AS ALL DO, BUT SEES OUR INITIATIVE AS FURTHER ISOLATING SMITH (AND SOUTH AFRICA) AND SAPPING
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THE WILL OF SMITH'S SUPPORTERS. HE ENTERTAINS HOPES, NO DOUBT WHETTED BY TALKS WITH NYERERE, THAT IF THE PROCESS BREAKS DOWN AS A RESULT OF SMITH'S INTRANSIGENCE, THE US AND UK MAY APPLY MORE EFFECTIVE PRESSURES AGAINST SMITH AND SOUTH AFRICA. IT IS FOR THESE REASONS, PLUS NYERERE'S INFLUENCE, THAT HE IS FOR THE MOMENT ON BOARD, NOT FROM ANY CONVICTION THAT OUR PROPOSAL WILL BRING INDEPENDENCE

AND MAJORITY RULE TO ZIMBABWE. HE IS CONVINCED THAT ONLY THE ARMED STRUGGLE WILL ACCOMPLISH THAT. HIS DESIRE TO MAINTAIN THE UNITY OF THE FRONT-LINE STATES SHOULD SERVE TO INHABIT THE EXPRESSION OF PUBLIC OPPOSITION TO THE PROPOSAL.

2. MACHEL IS LIKELY TO BE GUARDED AND NONCOMMITAL IN HIS PUBLIC COMMENTS ON THE PROPOSAL. PRIVATELY, HE MAY SEEK TO PERSUADE THE PATRIOTIC FRONT LEADERS, ESPECIALLY MUGABE, NOT TO REJECT THE PROPOSAL OUT OF HAND, BUT I DO NOT EXPECT MACHEL WILL TRY TO TELL THEM WHAT POSITION TO TAKE ON SPECIFIC ELEMENTS OF THE PROPOSAL. FOR THE PAST TWO YEARS HIS POSITION HAS BEEN THAT THE ZIMBABWEAN LEADERS MUST MAKE THEIR OWN DECISIONS. HAVING RECENTLY BEEN A LIBERATION LEADER HIMSELF, H FEELS THIS DEEPLY. AS HE REMARKED TO UK AMBASSADOR LEWEN AND ME ONLY LAST WEEK. "IT IS MOZAMBIQUE'S ROLE TO SUPPORT THE NATIONALISTS." MY DCM, JOHNNIE CARSON, HOWEVER, FEELS OTHERWISE. HE THINKS THAT MACHEL MAY BE SO DISILLUSIONED WITH THE DISUNITY AND SQUABBLING AMONG ZAPU AND ZANU, AND SO EAGER FOR A SETTLEMENT FOR REASONS AT HOME (I.E., MILITARY WEAKNESS AND SERIOUS ECONOMIC PROBLEMS), THAT HE IS READY TO PLAY AN ACTIVE AND CONSTRUCTIVE BEHIND-THE-SCENES ROLE WITH THE PATRIOTIC FRONT. IF JOHNNIE CARSON IS RIGHT, MACHEL COULD BE A GREAT HELP TO US.

3. KEY PROBLEM AREAS. SOME OF THE SPECIFIC PROBLEMS
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MACHEL HAS WITH OUR PROPOSAL WERE NOTED IN MAPUTO 1095. SOME OF THESE CONCERNS, E.G., THE REQUIREMENTS THAT THE CIVIL SERVICE BE APOLITICAL, THAT THE RESIDENT COMMISSIONER BE NEUTRAL, APPEAR TO BE MINOR AND WE SHOULD BE ABLE TO SATISFY MACHEL. HOWEVER, OTHER OF HIS CONCERNS, E.G., WITH THE ENTRENCHED CLAUSES, THE AMENDMENTS PROCEDURES AND THE TWENTY SEATS FOR MINORITIES, GO MORE TO THE HEART OF OUR PROPOSAL AND DO NOT APPEAR TO BE SUSCEPTIBLE TO MUCH IF ANY MODIFICATION WITHOUT UNRAVELING THE ENTIRE PROPOSAL. WE MAY HAVE TO CONVINCE MACHEL THAT THERE IS GOOD REASON WHY HE AND THE NATIONALISTS SHOULD ACCEPT THE PROPOSAL WITHOUT MAJOR MODIFICATION.

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 MAPUTO 1114

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4. GIVEN MOZAMBIQUE'S RECENT AND NOT TOO HAPPY EXPERIENCE WITH ITS OWN TRANSITION TO INDEPENDENCE, I WOULD EXPECT MACHEL WILL BE MUCH MORE INTERESTED IN THE TRANSITIONAL ARRANGEMENTS THAN THE OTHER FRONT-LINE PRESIDENTS. AMONG OTHER THINGS, I THINK HE MAY SEEK TO CIRCUMSCRIBE THE FLEXIBILITY OF THE RESIDENT COMMISSIONER AND TO OBTAIN AN ADVISORY ROLE FOR THE NATIONALISTS. HE MAY ALSO SEEK A MORE EXTENSIVE SHAKEUP OF THE POLICE FORCE THAN WE ENVISAGE. HIS CONCERN WITH THE POLICE DERIVES FROM FRELIMO'S EXPERIENCE WITH THE ATTEMPT TO INTEGRATE BLACK MOZAMBICANS FROM THE PORTUGUESE ARMY AND POLICE INTO MOZAMBICANS' ARMY AND POLICE. MACHEL ASSERTS THAT IT SIMPLY DID NOT WORK, AND THAT IT ONLY SOWED SEEDS OF DISSENSION.

5. PRINCIPAL DANGERS TO THE INITIATIVE AND US POLICY. I SEE THREE IMMEDIATELY ON THE HORIZON.
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A. THE FIRST IS THE POSSIBILITY OF AN INTERNAL SETTLEMENT, WHICH EVERYONE RECOGNIZES. MACHEL HAS ALREADY STATED THAT THIS WILL RESULT IN CIVIL WAR. IF SMITH SEEKS TO EXCLUDE THE FIGHTING FORCES FROM A ROLE IN A SETTLEMENT, IT WILL BE MACHEL WHO WILL URGE THEM TO CONTINUE FIGHTING. AND BY OFFERING THEM BASES, MILITARY EQUIPMENT AND ENCOURAGEMENT, HE CAN ENSURE THAT THE FIGHTING WILL CONTINUE.

B. SECOND, EITHER ZANU, ZAPU OR BOTH MAY REJECT THE PROPOSAL. HERE IS WHERE THE FRONT-LINE PRESIDENTS, ESPECIALLY MACHEL, COULD BE HELPFUL TO US. I BELIEVE MACHEL OF HIS OWN ACCORD WILL TRY TO PREVAIL UPON MUGABE NOT TO REJECT THE PROPOSAL, LETTING THE ONUS FOR REJECTION REST WITH SMITH, BUT WE MAY WISH TO ASK MACHEL HOW BEST TO PRECLUDE THIS POSSIBILITY. IF MOZAMBIQUE AND THE FRONT-LINE STATES AGREE TO PUT PRESSURE ON THE PATRIOTIC FRONT TO ACCEPT OUR PROPOSAL (OR A MODIFICATION OF IT) THEY WILL PROBABLY INSIST THAT WE APPLY SIMILAR PRESSURES ON SMITH AND THEY WILL WANT TO KNOW WHAT MEASURES WE WILL TAKE WITH SMITH AND VORSTER SHOULD BE NOT COOPERATE. TO THE EXTENT THAT WE ARE ABLE TO CONFIDE IN THE FRONT-LINE PRESIDENTS WHAT THESE CONSEQUENCES MIGHT BE, THE MORE LIKELY WE ARE OF ELICITING THEIR HELP WITH THE NATIONALISTS.

C. IF WE REACH THE POINT WHERE THE UK RESIDENT COMMISSIONER, A UN REPRESENTATIVE AND THE RHODESIAN AND NATIONALIST FORCE COMMANDERS BEGIN TO DISCUSS A CEASEFIRE AND FUTURE MILITARY ARRANGEMENTS, I FORESEE AN EARLY BREAKDOWN OR IMPASSE IN THE TALKS. FOR MACHEL, CONTROL OF THE SECURITY FORCES HAS ALWAYS BEEN THE GUT ISSUE. HE IS PLEASED THAT THE PROPOSAL CALLS FOR THE ZIMBABWEAN ARMY TO BE BASED ON THE LIBERATION FORCES, THEREBY ENSURING THAT THOSE WHO DID THE FIGHTING HAVE A ROLE IN THE FUTURE

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OF ZIMBABWE. HE FEELS THAT THE NATIONALISTS MADE AMPLE CONCESSION ON THE CONSTITUTION TO WIN THIS RIGHT. HE WILL NOT WISH TO SEE THIS PRINCIPLE DILUTED. IF, IN THE NEGOTIATIONS, THE UK SHOULD PRESS TOO HARD FOR INCLUSION OF RHODESIAN FORCES, MACHEL IS LIKELY TO VIEW THIS AS A BREACH OF FAITH, AND COULD SOUR ON THE ENTIRE PROPOSAL.

6. PRIMARY EFFORTS. IN ADDITION TO SEEKING AN EARLY UN ENDORSEMENT OF THE PROPOSAL AND THE SELECTION OF A UN REPRESENTATIVE, I BELIEVE WE SHOULD DECIDE SOON HOW WE INTEND TO HANDLE REQUESTS FOR MODIFICATIONS OF THE PROPOSAL. MACHEL HAS ALREADY SAID HE HAS PROBLEMS WITH A DOZEN POINTS. IF HE LOOKS CLOSELY AGAIN AT THE PROPOSAL, HE NO DOUBT COULD COME UP WITH ANOTHER DOZEN. UNLESS WE WANT TO OPEN THE DOOR TO A LOT OF WRANGLING AND DELAYS, WE SHOULD MAKE IT CLEAR TO ALL PARTICIPANTS WHICH POINTS ARE NEGOTIABLE AND WHICH ARE NOT, AND DEVELOP A STRATEGY FOR DEALING WITH REQUESTS FOR MODIFICATIONS ON THOSE POINTS THAT ARE NEGOTIABLE.

7. FOLLOW-UP ACTIONS. I FULLY CONCUR WITH MY COLLEAGUES THAT WE CONTINUE TO CONSULT CLOSELY WITH THE FRONT-LINE PRESIDENTS. I BELIEVE MACHEL WILL WELCOME THIS. INCIDENTALLY, HE IS SENSITIVE ON MATTERS OF PROTOCOL AND

WOULD LIKE TO BE TREATED WITH AS MUCH DEFERENCE AND IMPORT-
ANCE AS NYERERE AND KAUNDA. MACHEL'S ATTENDANCE AT THE
32ND UNGA PROVIDES US WITH AN EXCELLENT OPPORTUNITY TO
SHOW HIM THE ATTENTION HE THINKS HE DESERVES. WE SHOULD
TAKE FULL ADVANTAGE OF THIS OPPORTUNITY. WE SHOULD
ALSO PAY SPECIAL ATTENTION TO MACHEL'S AIDES, SERGIO VIEIRA
AND FERNANDO HONWANA, WHO ARE CLOSE TO THE PRESIDENT AND
HAVE HIS EAR ON RHODESIAN AND NAMIBIAN MATTERS.
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